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ABSTRACT

Research among black and white males aged 18 to 54 investigated correlations between migration patterns and occupational attainment and earnings. Results indicated that: (1) the propensity to migrate is related to entrance into, exit from, and laterations in occupational careers; (2) there is a positive association between migration and occupational status, but most of this association can be accounted for by the favorable socioeconomic background of migrants; (3) in general, migration is associated with higher occupational attainment, greater returns to education, and an increased earning capacity, but the pattern of the association varies between black and white migrants, and between new and repeat or return migrants; (4) the South has benefited from the population exchange between the South and other areas of the country; and (5) migrants who left the South between 1965 and 1970 had substantially higher earnings than those who remained in the South. (Author/MJL)

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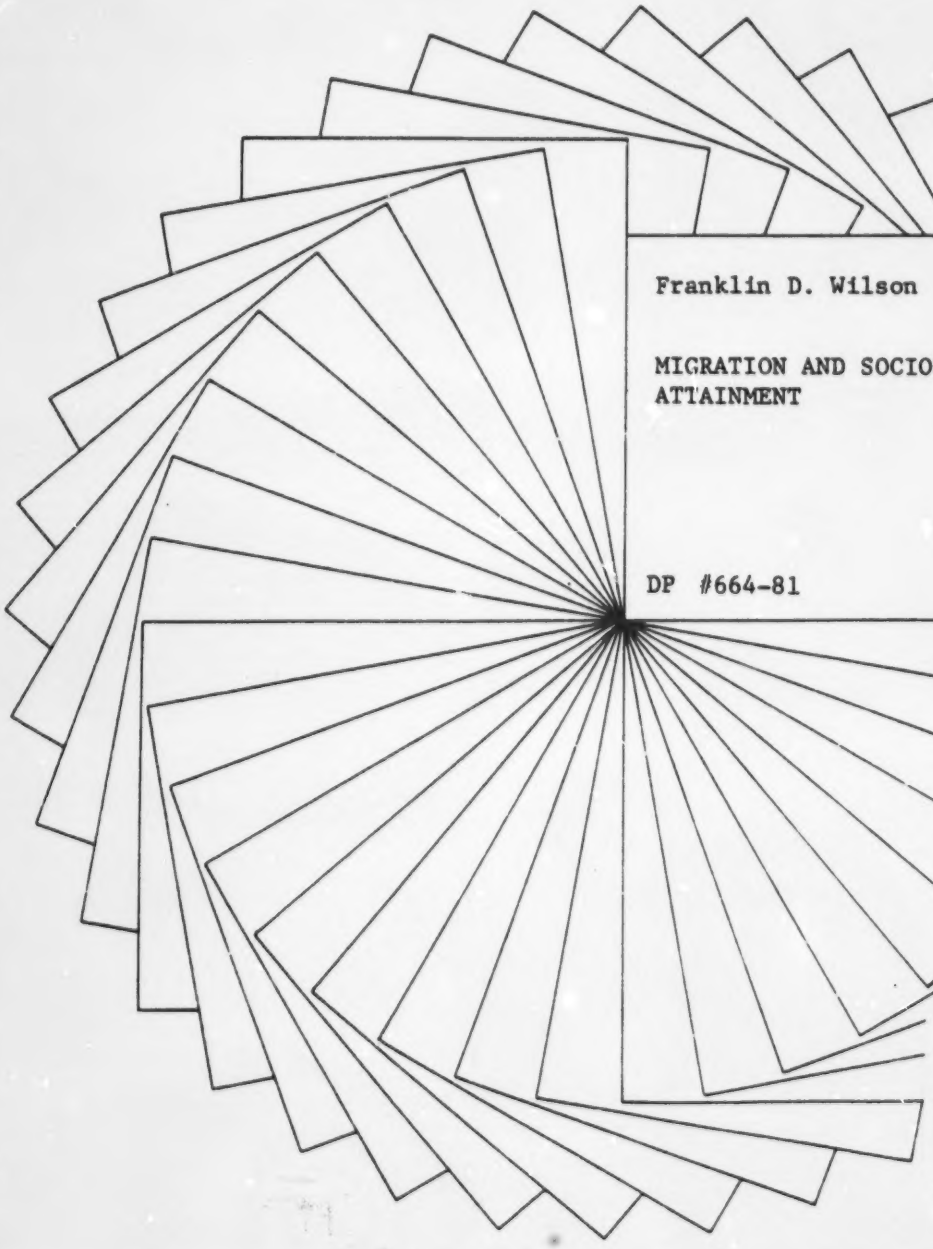

Franklin D. Wilson

MIGRATION AND SOCIOECONOMIC ATTAINMENT

DP #664-81

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Migration and Socioeconomic Attainment

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Abstract

Analysis of the association between migration, occupational attainment, and earnings supports the following conclusions: (1) while aspects of occupational attainment are associated with migration, most of this association can be accounted for by the favorable socioeconomic background of migrants; (2) white migrants are able to convert their educational resources into higher occupational attainment; (3) certain types of migrants have greater earnings at destination, partly as a result of occupational mobility; and (4) the South has benefited greatly from its population interchange with the non-South, and migrants who left the South between 1965 and 1970 had substantially higher earnings than those who remained in the South.

Migration and Socioeconomic Attainment

INTRODUCTION

Morrison (1977, p. 62) notes that one of the ways migration affects the structure and functioning of societies is that it facilitates social mobility. The act of migrating increases an individual's chances for socioeconomic improvement as a result of relocating to areas where the opportunities for achievement are greatest. Thus, migration may be regarded as an avenue an individual can use to obtain greater returns on his human capital investments, whether in the form of educational attainment, occupational status, or labor force experience. This paper focuses on several aspects of this issue, including whether (1) migration promotes occupational mobility within a single generation; (2) migrants are able to obtain more favorable returns on their educational endowments, work experience, and occupational attainment; and (3) returns to status attainment vary by race, migration status, and region of origin and destination.

Although the positive association between migration and occupational attainment is well documented empirically (see Ritchey, 1976; Shaw, 1975; Lichter et al., 1979, for reviews), very little empirical work has been reported on the dynamic interplay between occupational mobility and migration. Scudder and Anderson (1954), Prehn (1967), and Blau and Duncan (1967) report that intergenerational occupational mobility is higher among sons who migrated. Freeman and Hawley (1949) and Blau and Duncan (1967) found a substantial association between intragenerational mobility and migration.

Moreover, there are a number of issues in regard to the interplay

between occupation and migration that need to be explored further. One such issue is whether there is a connection between the direction of occupational mobility and migration. Does migration promote only occupational success? Or is it the case that the association between migration and mobility depends on the social background and labor force experience of individuals? Results from the Occupational Changes in a Generation (OCG) survey and its replicate (OCG II) indicate that a substantial number of men experienced declines in occupational standing, as well as in quality of first job, relative to that of their fathers (Blau and Duncan, 1967; Featherman and Hauser, 1978). Hence it would seem reasonable to ask whether migration is selective with respect to these men, and, if so, how they differ from men who experience an increase or no change in occupational standing. Blau and Duncan (1967, pp. 252-253) report that migration in itself promotes neither upward nor downward intergenerational mobility, that the greater upward mobility observed among migrants is due primarily to superior social background. Below, an effort is made to determine whether these findings hold for intragenerational mobility.

Another issue worthy of investigation is the extent of intragenerational occupational mobility among different types of migrants. The majority of individuals who move during an interval of time are not first-time migrants, but rather include persons who are returning to their origin, or who are moving to another destination (see Miller, 1977; DaVanzo and Morrison, 1981; DaVanzo, 1981). Results from several studies indicate that there are important socioeconomic and demographic differences between first-time, return, and repeat migrants (the distinctions are described in the next section), reflecting the

differential impact of selectivity factors on the propensity to migrate (Miller, 1977; DaVanzo, 1981; DaVanzo, 1976; DaVanzo and Morrison, 1981; Faber, 1978; Kau and Sirmans, 1976). Miller, for example, reports that repeat nonreturn migrants have occupational attainment levels far above those of nonmigrants and other types of migrants. A possible interpretation of this finding is suggested by the work of DaVanzo and Morrison (1981), whose findings of differences in age, education, and employment status among types of migrants imply that migration is a corrective act, conditioned by length of residence at a new location and knowledge of opportunities available at alternative locations. A focus on occupational mobility may help to disentangle the influence of these factors versus selectivity factors (such as age or socioeconomic attainment) on migration. If both types of factors are operating, one would expect repeat migrants not only to be of superior socioeconomic background, but also to experience greater occupational advancement once migration has occurred.

A final issue to be explored is the intermediate effect of migration on earnings achieved by occupational mobility. Most of the work in the area of returns to migration has focused almost exclusively on the question of whether the earnings of migrants increased significantly after a move (Lansing and Mueller, 1967; Lansing and Morgan, 1967; Wertheimer, 1970; Kiker and Traynham, 1977; Faber, 1978). A neglected aspect of the relationship between migration and changes in earnings is the impact of migration on occupational mobility. It is reasonable to speculate at this point that some individuals experience significant increases in earnings because of advancement in occupational standings. Thus, by implication, some of the influence exerted by migration on earnings is probably

transmitted through changes in occupational attainment.

THE CURRENT STUDY

Black and white (non-Hispanic) males between the ages of 18 and 54 and living in the 120 largest SMSAs in 1970 are the population subgroups of primary interest in this analysis. The data are taken from the 1970 1/100 Public Use Sample (PUS) file for county groups (5% sample universe). The PUS is ideally suited for the proposed analysis, because it is possible to observe changes in occupational status over a five-year period, which corresponds to the migration interval used to identify several types of migrants. The emphasis here is on intragenerational occupational mobility, defined as either a change in a major occupation group or change in occupational status as indexed by Duncan's Socio-Economic Index (SEI) scores during the 1965-1970 period. Occupation in 1965 is based on retrospective reporting, and therefore is subject to greater recall and reporting errors than 1970 occupation (see Featherman and Hauser, 1978).

An individual is defined as a migrant if his 1970 region of residence (based on the nine major census regions) is different from that based on reported 1965 state of residence or state of birth.[1] The foreign-born and individuals whose state of birth or residence in 1965 were not reported are excluded. A distinction is made between four mutually exclusive categories of migrants. A lifetime migrant is an individual who left his region of birth prior to 1965 and did not move between 1965 and 1970. A distinction is made between three categories of recent migrants. New migrants are individuals who were observed to have left their state of birth for the first time between 1965 and 1970; (2) return migrants are

persons who left their region of birth prior to 1965 but returned between 1965 and 1970; and finally, a repeat migrant is an individual who left his region of residence prior to 1965 and moved to yet another region between 1965 and 1970. These four categories of migrants are not exhaustive of migration types, nor are they free of conceptual and methodological problems associated with measuring the temporal and spatial dynamics of migration flows (Miller, 1977). It is clearly possible for individuals to move several times over a five-year period, which biases the definitions used here (see DaVanzo, 1981; DaVanzo and Morrison, 1981). An additional bias is introduced because individuals are selected for analysis on the basis of their most recent place of residence. This biases the analysis of migrant/nonmigrant differentials at origin, since region of origin is observed only for those individuals who did not move or who moved to one of the SMSAs included in the sample universe.

RESULTS

Migration and Changes in Labor Force Status

Changes in the occupational position of employed persons is not the only type of change in labor force status which is associated with migration. The propensity to migrate is related to entrance into, exit from, and alterations in occupational careers. A focus on the association between general changes in labor force status and migration will help to place the discussion of the association between migration and intragenerational occupational mobility in a broader context. I shall focus briefly on this broader pattern before proceeding with the question of the association between occupational mobility and migration.

The PUS file not only includes retrospective information on

occupation in 1965, but also information which allows one to ascertain an individual's current and previous labor force status. It is therefore possible to determine to what extent different types of labor force changes exert effect on the propensity to migrate. Table 1 reports percentage distributions of individuals by race, labor force status, and occupation in 1965 and 1970. Employment status was constructed as follows: persons classified as being employed in 1965 include individuals who were 25 years of age and over, and those 18 to 24 years of age who were not in college and who indicated they were at work in 1965. The "In School or Military" category for 1965 includes persons who were less than 18 years of age, persons in college without a job, those in college with a job but less than 25 years of age in 1965, and persons in the military. The "Not in Labor Force" category for 1965 is a residual, and includes persons not classified as being in the labor force or in school or the military in 1965. Employment status in 1970 reflects self-reporting of labor force activity at the time of the census, and is not based on respondent's age. In addition, persons in the military in 1970 were excluded, and all respondents reported their labor force status in 1970. The occupational categories are adapted from Featherman and Hauser (1978).

In 1970, for both racial groups, the percentage of persons in each occupational category (except farm) increased due to the elimination of the Occupation Not Reported category and substantial reductions in the number of persons reported as being in school or the military. Also reported are estimates of the percentage of persons who migrated during the 1965-1970 period. Previous reports of a positive association between migration and occupational status are not supported by these data for either racial group. Two caveats are in order here. First, the

Table 1. Percentage Distribution of Sample Individuals by Race and Labor Force Activity in 1965 and 1970

Labor Force Status [a]	1965		1970	
	Percentage of Total	Percentage Migrants	Percentage of Total	Percentage Migrants
		Blacks		
Employed				
Upper White Collar				
Professional, self employed	0.32	3.45	0.37	8.82
Professional, salaried	2.76	5.92	4.30	10.68
Managers	1.12	4.84	1.82	9.09
Salesmen, others	0.45	4.21	0.76	9.64
Lower White Collar				
Proprietors	0.42	1.92	0.63	7.30
Clerks	4.45	2.80	6.85	9.16
Salesmen, retail	0.60	4.11	0.85	9.27
Upper Blue Collar				
Craftsmen, manufacturing	2.68	2.83	3.96	7.07
Craftsmen, others	3.11	3.58	4.83	8.89
Craftsmen, construction	2.06	4.75	2.82	8.49
Lower Blue Collar				
Service	9.15	7.77	11.75	7.66
Operatives, others	7.08	4.14	9.66	7.79
Operatives, manufacturing	8.49	3.36	11.74	9.76
Laborers, manufacturing	1.85	3.10	2.20	9.41
Laborers, others	6.67	3.14	7.90	7.56
Farm				
Farmers	0.17	14.06	0.16	13.33
Farm workers	0.76	10.39	0.71	8.02
Occupation Not Reported [b]	6.70	5.72	NA	NA
Not Employed				
School or Military [c]	16.22	13.86	4.89	9.45
Not in Labor Force [d]	24.92	16.77	23.80	9.32
Total	100.00 (36,803)	8.79	100.00 (36,803)	8.79

(table continues)

Table 1 (continued)

Labor Force Status[a]	1965 Percentage of Total	1965 Percentage Migrants	1970 Percentage of Total	1970 Percentage Migrants
		Whites		
Employed				
Upper White Collar				
Professional, self-employed	1.57	3.61	1.82	4.31
Professional, salaried	9.07	7.28	12.05	10.72
Managers	6.57	6.00	7.83	7.51
Salesmen, others	3.99	4.91	4.45	6.56
Lower White Collar				
Proprietors	2.14	2.75	2.51	3.50
Clerks	5.15	3.42	6.40	5.79
Salesmen, retail	1.96	4.46	2.12	6.06
Upper Blue Collar				
Craftsmen, manufacturing	5.91	2.60	6.59	4.24
Craftsmen, others	5.45	3.57	6.63	5.64
Craftsmen, construction	3.90	3.10	4.06	5.73
Lower Blue Collar				
Service	4.35	3.40	4.98	5.33
Operatives, others	4.98	3.55	5.52	5.45
Operatives, manufacturing	6.72	2.58	7.37	4.90
Laborers, manufacturing	0.77	3.24	0.80	4.96
Laborers, others	2.30	3.74	2.42	6.52
Farm				
Farmers	0.60	4.49	0.49	2.48
Farm workers	0.36	6.50	0.29	6.44
Occupation Not Reported[b]	4.54	5.53	NA	NA
Not Employed				
School or Military[c]	16.38	13.74	6.57	10.67
Not in Labor Force[d]	13.28	11.10	17.10	6.74
Total	100.00 (304,389)	6.73	100.00 (304,389)	6.73

Source: 1970 1 percent PUS file for county groups.
a-Occupational categories adapted from Featherman and Hauser (1978).
b-In 1970, persons were allocated an occupation by the census if they did not report one.
c-In 1965, includes persons under 25 who were in college and had a job; in 1970, persons in the military were excluded.
d-Includes persons whose labor force activity was not reported in 1965.

occupation classification does not correspond to the standard classification usually employed, as an inspection of the subgroups reported under each major heading reveals. Second, these are gross estimates, which conceal the differential impact of both age and education on migration. When these factors are controlled and the occupation distribution is reduced to the five major subheadings, the positive association between migration and occupation is revealed.

The percentage of migrants reported for each occupational category (except farm) is considerably higher in 1970. The differences between the two time periods reflect shifts in the occupational standing of respondents who reported an occupation at both dates, and shifts in persons from the Occupation Not Reported and the Not Employed categories to reported occupation in 1970.

Table 1 provides only net estimates of change in the percentage of persons in each labor force-occupational category, based on the 1965 and 1970 marginals. Hence it is not possible to determine whether individuals who experienced changes in their labor force status between 1965 and 1970 were more likely to be migrants. The percentages reported in Table 2 avoid this problem, as individuals are placed in categories according to the type of change experienced in labor force status between 1965 and 1970. Type of change in labor force status is very much associated with migration status. For both racial groups, individuals who changed either from in school/military in 1965 to in the labor force in 1970, or from not in the labor force in 1965 but in the labor force in 1970, were much more likely to be migrants. In addition, individuals who changed occupational status were twice as likely to be migrants as persons who experienced no change. This finding confirms the connection between intragenerational

Table 2. Percentage of Migrants by Type of Change in Labor Force Status: 1965-1970

Type Change in Labor Force Status 1965-1970[a]	Blacks		Whites	
	Percentage of Total	Percentage Migrants	Percentage of Total	Percentage Migrants
No Change in Occupation	38.83	3.13	48.83	3.52
Occupation Changed Up	4.15	7.08	5.85	6.55
Occupation Changed Down	2.62	6.22	4.30	5.92
Changed from Occupation to School-Not in Labor Force	6.56	4.72	6.82	5.90
Changed from Occupation Not Reported to School-Not in Labor Force	1.06	6.14	0.61	6.34
Changed from School-Military to Occupation	8.31	17.52	9.06	16.15
Changed from School-Military to School-Not in Labor Force	7.90	10.01	7.31	10.75
Changed from Not in Labor Force to Occupation	11.76	22.67	4.37	19.42
Changed from Not in Labor Force to School-Not in Labor Force	13.16	11.50	8.91	7.02
Changed from Occupation Not Reported to Occupation	5.64	5.64	3.92	5.41
Total Observations	36,803		304,389	

Source: 1970 1 percent PUS file for county groups.

a-These categories were obtained by cross-classifying 1965 and 1970 labor force status, using the breakdown in Table 1.

occupational mobility and migration.

Several conclusions can be drawn from the results reported in Table 2. First, while individuals who move across occupational strata are more likely to be migrants than those who remain within a stratum, it is clear that entrance into or exit from the labor force are the major types of change associated with migration. Second, individuals who experienced an increase in occupational status were only slightly more likely to be migrants than those who experienced a decrease, even though the percentage of the total population experiencing the former is greater than the latter. It should be emphasized that these conclusions are based on five-year changes in labor force standings. It is entirely possible, indeed likely, that the reported percentages would be different if the length of the observational interval was greater--e.g., from entrance into the labor force to retirement.

Migration and Occupational Mobility

In this and subsequent sections, attention is focused on unraveling various aspects of the association between migration and socioeconomic attainment among those in the sample. Persons whose 1965 occupation was not reported or who were not in the labor force in 1965 or 1970 are excluded from this analysis.

The first question to be addressed is whether migration is associated with occupational mobility among persons who were born in the same region. Table 3 reports the percentage of persons who experienced change in occupational status between 1965 and 1970 by age, migration status, and race. The migration status variable is based on region of birth of respondents. Hence, nonmigrants are compared with individuals who left

Table 3. Percentage Change in Occupational Status by Race, Age, and Migration Status: 1965-1970

Age and Migration Status[b]	Change in Occupational Status[a]							
	Blacks				Whites			
	Increase	No Change	Decrease	Total Observations	Increase	No Change	Decrease	Total Observations
18-34 years								
Nonmigrants	22.11%	60.43%	17.47%	3,275	25.66%	58.10%	16.24%	8,826
Lifetime Migrants	22.95	58.32	18.73	1,869	26.47	56.04	17.49	2,155
Recent Migrants								
Return	30.49	40.24	29.27	82	29.79	46.26	23.95	668
New	32.19	37.77	30.04	334	37.40	41.50	21.10	1,730
Repeat	35.63	33.33	31.03	87	29.25	49.65	21.10	711
35-54 years								
Nonmigrants	12.01	78.12	9.90	4,739	12.00	78.31	9.70	16,001
Lifetime Migrants	13.49	77.17	9.34	4,004	12.47	76.79	10.74	6,005
Return	19.15	46.81	34.04	47	21.61	57.08	21.31	671
New	31.68	49.50	18.81	101	22.64	59.68	17.67	1,488
Repeat	32.61	45.65	21.74	46	18.61	65.04	16.35	1,064

Source: 1970 1 percent PUS file for county groups.

a-Indexed by whether an individual moved from one to another of fifteen major nonfarm occupational categories between 1965 and 1970 (see Table 1 for description of categories).
b-Migration status is based on region of birth of respondent. See text for definitions of the migration categories.

their region of birth and in 1970 were classified as either lifetime, return, repeat, or new migrants, to determine whether migrants were able to improve their occupational standing above what it would have been had they not migrated. Nonmigrants are substantially less likely to have experienced either an increase or a decrease in their occupational standings over the 1965-1970 period, particularly among blacks and the youngest age group. Not only do nonmigrants differ from migrants, but among the latter there are noticeable differences. Lifetime migrants are much more similar in occupational mobility to nonmigrants than they are to recent migrants. The lifetime migrant category is probably more heterogeneous than the other migrant categories, reflecting generational differences in occupational attainment (as the former tend to be much older), as well as the impact of selectivity factors associated with migration behavior. For example, many of the lifetime migrants probably migrated as members of households, and did not migrate for reasons associated with labor force participation.

Among the recent migrant categories one can also observe differences in occupational mobility. Among blacks, the ordering of recent migration types by the degree of changes in occupational status (ignoring for the moment the direction of change) is repeat, new, and return migrants; among whites the ordering is new, return, and repeat migrants. These differences could perhaps reflect variations in experience, knowledge as to the availability of opportunities in different labor market areas, and career differences in labor force participation and organizational ties. More will be said on this point once other attributes have been considered.

With respect to the direction of occupational mobility, a greater percentage of the migrants experienced both increases and decreases in occupational standing. Generally, the percentage of persons experiencing an increase in occupational standing is greater than those who experienced a decrease, and these differences do not form a consistent pattern across the migration categories. However, note that the discrepancy between the percentage of persons experiencing increases and decreases in occupational standing is less for return migrants. In fact, among older black return migrants, the percentage experiencing a decrease is much greater than those who experienced an increase. One could speculate that persons in the return migrant category are individuals who simply chose to return to their place of birth after a long absence, particularly if they were nearing or at retirement age. On the other hand it could be, as DaVanzo and Morrison (1981) observe, that some of these individuals encountered adjustment problems and decided to return to a more familiar environment. However, it should be noted that given the length of time these individuals have been away from their place of birth, this explanation is less plausible than the former, since, as these authors suggest, unsuccessful migrants are more likely to return within a short period of time.

The changes in occupational status reported in Table 3 do not take account of the impact of previous status level or the influence of other background factors. Previous studies suggest that the favorable standings of migrants may simply reflect the influence of selectivity factors, and once these are controlled the superiority of migrants in occupational attainment disappears. There are two questions that can be raised. First, are migrants more favorably endowed with attributes which lead to

greater occupational and earnings attainment? And second, are migrants better able to capitalize on their resources than nonmigrants? My expectations are that the answer to both questions is yes. In regard to the second question, this expectation is based on the belief that migrants are much more achievement-oriented than nonmigrants. They are not only more knowledgeable about opportunities available elewhere, but are more likely to take advantage of these opportunities, even if there are risks involved. Following DaVanzo and Morrison (1981), it can also be hypothesized that selectivity, experience, and knowledge of opportunities would generate status attainment differences among lifetime, return, new, and repeat migrants. For example, one would expect repeat migrants to be more favorably endowed, and better able to capitalize on opportunities because of knowledge acquired in previous moves. New migrants, on the other hand, are less experienced and knowledgeable than repeat and return migrants, and, although they may be favorably endowed, they are probably more likely to accept lower levels of status attainment because most would have only recently begun their occupational careers (see Kau and Sirmans, 1976). Return migrants are more likely to be intermediate between repeat and new migrants, mainly because this group is more heterogeneous, consisting of some individuals similar to repeat migrants, some who encountered adjustment problems, and some who are nearing the end of their careers.

The results relevant to the two questions raised earlier are presented as follows. First, the socioeconomic attainment and labor force experiences of migrants and nonmigrants is compared. Second, results are given from multiple regression equations in which the probability of occupational mobility and percentage change in occupational status are

treated as dependent variables. In the first instance, the objective is to determine whether the differences observed in Table 3 reflect differences in level and return to socioeconomic attainment. In the second instance, the objective is to determine whether the magnitude of change in occupational status is associated with migration status. A third set of analyses focuses on differences between persons who experienced upward and downward mobility. The intent here is to determine whether individuals who are downwardly mobile are different from those who are upwardly mobile, and whether these differences vary by migration status. Discussion follows concerning whether returns to socioeconomic attainment, measured by annual earnings, vary by migration status. As in the previous analyses, the objective is to ascertain whether there are identifiable payoffs to migration. Finally, I assess the role of differences in region of origin and of destination in determining socioeconomic attainment.

Table 4 reports the means and standard deviations of variables that will be used in subsequent analysis. Some of these variables are of interest here, as they permit an assessment of the role of migration selectivity in promoting occupational and earning attainment. One can note that the status attainment background of recent migrants is superior to that of nonmigrants and lifetime migrants with respect to educational and occupational attainment in 1965. The rank ordering of the migration categories with respect to status attainment does not conform precisely to the ordering expected. Repeat migrants, as expected, have the highest level of educational and occupational attainment, followed by white return migrants, black new migrants in the case of schooling level, and return migrants in the case of occupational status. On the other hand,

Table 4. Selected Socioeconomic and Labor Force Characteristics of Migrant and Nonmigrant Subgroups by Race. Means and Standard Deviations.

Variables	Nonmigrant		Lifetime Migrant		Return Migrant		Repeat Migrant		New Migrant	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
					Blacks					
1969 Earnings	5683.2125	4111.9048	6556.1869	4403.3496	5104.6937	4020.2797	6152.6036	4667.8908	5394.3569	4078.1220
1970 Occupational Status (SEI)	26.7938	19.0318	27.0037	19.0736	29.6217	20.9981	35.4729	24.9567	29.5365	20.9781
1965 Occupational Status (SEI)	25.2654	18.3804	25.6151	18.5689	28.6140	20.4428	31.6895	23.0304	26.1979	20.4393
% Change Occupational Status (SEI)	22.0716	89.9285	19.5012	80.5979	31.7843	103.1302	35.9486	97.4104	42.9249	117.0528
Proportion Nonmobile	0.7089	0.4543	0.7117	0.4530	0.4264	0.4965	0.3759	0.4862	0.4132	0.4931
Proportion Upwardly Mobile	0.1613	0.3679	0.1650	0.3712	0.2636	0.4423	0.3459	0.4774	0.3204	0.4673
Proportion Downwardly Mobile	0.1298	0.3361	0.1233	0.3288	0.3101	0.4643	0.2782	0.4498	0.2665	0.4428
Proportion Vocational Training	0.2380	0.4259	0.2597	0.4385	0.3023	0.4611	0.3308	0.4723	0.2575	0.4379
Proportion Limiting Disability	0.0986	0.2981	0.1013	0.3018	0.0853	0.2804	0.0827	0.2765	0.0898	0.2864
Proportion Married	0.3868	0.6932	0.2985	0.6022	0.5116	0.7301	0.4511	0.6905	0.4581	0.7411
Work Experience	21.8649	10.7429	24.1008	10.1134	18.0000	10.5823	16.8571	9.5831	15.8473	9.5025
Years of Schooling Completed	10.3408	3.1865	10.4224	3.1336	10.6279	3.4280	11.4662	3.5174	11.0359	3.3078
Graded Schooling	9.9260	2.6507	9.9690	1.5419	10.0465	2.7524	10.4737	2.3503	10.2994	2.4286
Years in College	0.4148	1.1861	0.4534	1.2312	0.5814	1.3733	0.9925	1.9482	0.7365	1.5909
Industry										
Distributive Services	0.2410	0.4277	0.1987	0.3991	0.2093	0.4084	0.2556	0.4379	0.1976	0.3988
Goods Services	0.0483	0.2144	0.0506	0.2191	0.1085	0.3123	0.0752	0.2647	0.0329	0.1787
Social Services	0.2013	0.4010	0.1880	0.3907	0.1628	0.3706	0.2331	0.4244	0.1647	0.3714
Personal Services	0.0799	0.2711	0.0727	0.2597	0.0853	0.2804	0.0977	0.2981	0.0988	0.2988
Changed Industry	0.2848	0.4513	0.2721	0.4451	0.6512	0.4785	0.6917	0.4635	0.6527	0.4768
Employed										
Private Sector	0.7192	0.4494	0.7453	0.4357	0.7829	0.4138	0.7669	0.4244	0.8383	0.3687
Public Sector	0.2356	0.4244	0.2082	0.4061	0.1860	0.3907	0.1805	0.3860	0.1467	0.3543
Weeks Worked	46.0193	11.3498	46.2917	11.1671	43.0736	14.6714	43.9737	12.7338	45.1108	11.8968
Hours Worked	36.8722	15.2856	36.3137	16.7818	36.0116	17.5395	33.6278	17.3098	32.9446	17.4944
Region of Birth										
Proportion East	0.2056	0.4042	0.0266	0.1608	0.0775	0.2685	0.0602	0.2387	0.0689	0.2536
Proportion North	0.1762	0.3810	0.0489	0.2156	0.1938	0.3968	0.0602	0.2387	0.0898	0.2864
Proportion West	0.0245	0.1545	0.0082	0.0900	0.0465	0.2114	0.0150	0.1222	0.0150	0.1216
Total Observations	8,014		5,873		129		133		334	

(table continues)

Table 4 (continued)

Variables	Nonmigrant [a]		Lifetime Migrant [a]		Return Migrant		Repeat Migrant		New Migrant	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
					Whites					
1969 Earnings	9961.9087	6904.6016	11175.7959	8157.9795	10126.8809	7334.3817	12155.9734	8446.8303	9476.9030	7272.0297
1970 Occupational Status (SEI)	43.7039	23.1719	47.6098	23.9167	50.4742	24.2786	56.8146	23.7350	49.5499	24.1240
1965 Occupational Status (SEI)	41.4714	22.8963	45.7902	23.9611	48.3228	24.3259	54.2168	23.9897	45.5358	24.0701
$ Change Occupational Status (SEI)	19.6005	85.5107	16.6927	78.8340	25.7513	107.9907	21.5053	90.0541	34.9764	119.3869
Proportion Nonmobile	0.7112	0.4532	0.7123	0.4527	0.5168	0.4999	0.5887	0.4922	0.4991	0.5001
Proportion Upwardly Mobile	0.1686	0.3744	0.1622	0.3687	0.2569	0.4371	0.2287	0.4201	0.3058	0.4608
Proportion Downwardly Mobile	0.1202	0.3252	0.1255	0.3313	0.2263	0.4186	0.1825	0.3864	0.1952	0.3964
Proportion Vocational Training	0.3354	0.4722	0.3593	0.4798	0.3316	0.4710	0.3561	0.4790	0.3337	0.4716
Proportion Limiting Disability	0.0772	0.2669	0.0915	0.2883	0.0844	0.2781	0.0676	0.2511	0.0749	0.2633
Proportion Married	0.2583	0.6271	0.1972	0.5372	0.2315	0.5801	0.2299	0.5768	0.2899	0.6503
Work Experience	21.6122	10.1458	23.0827	9.5502	17.2547	8.6793	18.4513	8.9572	16.7315	9.4052
Years of Schooling Completed	12.0947	2.8566	12.6180	3.1480	13.2599	3.0670	14.0242	3.1237	13.0482	2.9798
Graded Schooling	11.0555	1.7121	11.1271	1.7273	11.3674	1.4725	11.5239	1.4088	11.3602	1.4904
Years in College	1.0391	1.8072	1.4910	2.0793	1.8925	2.2004	2.5003	2.3219	1.6880	2.1206
Industry										
Distributive Services	0.2520	0.4342	0.2316	0.4219	0.2345	0.4238	0.2451	0.4303	0.2526	0.4346
Goods Services	0.0903	0.2866	0.0977	0.2969	0.1060	0.3080	0.1194	0.3244	0.1050	0.3066
Social Services	0.1390	0.3460	0.1674	0.3734	0.1643	0.3707	0.1977	0.3984	0.1631	0.3696
Personal Services	0.0521	0.2223	0.0584	0.2345	0.0508	0.2196	0.0524	0.2229	0.0684	0.2524
Changed Industry	0.2423	0.4285	0.2456	0.4305	0.5026	0.5002	0.4270	0.4948	0.5099	0.5000
Employed										
Private Sector	0.7618	0.4260	0.7493	0.4335	0.8350	0.3714	0.8180	0.3859	0.8160	0.3875
Public Sector	0.1334	0.3401	0.1454	0.3525	0.1008	0.3012	0.1330	0.3396	0.1234	0.3289
Weeks Worked	48.5354	7.8251	48.3051	8.2789	47.2700	9.9061	47.8400	8.8475	46.5193	10.8953
Hours Worked	40.7066	13.9946	40.6351	14.6908	40.1662	15.8646	40.4530	15.9035	38.7968	16.4337
Region of Birth										
Proportion East	0.3909	0.4880	0.2638	0.4407	0.2457	0.4307	0.2880	0.4491	0.3154	0.4648
Proportion North	0.3075	0.4615	0.3548	0.4785	0.3189	0.4662	0.3623	0.4808	0.3773	0.4848
Proportion West	0.0953	0.2936	0.0796	0.2707	0.0948	0.2931	0.0755	0.2643	0.0724	0.2592
Total Observations	24,827		8,200		1,339		1,775		3,218	

Source: 1970 1 percent PUS file for county groups.
a-The means and standard deviations reported for these groups were derived from a 25 percent random sample of all such persons in the total PUS.

nonmigrants and lifetime migrants are more experienced than the other three categories of migrants, as indicated by the amount of work experience and weeks worked. This is somewhat to be expected, given that individuals in the former categories are older.

The mean differences in educational attainment and occupational status in 1965 between migrants and nonmigrants as reported in Table 4 clearly indicate that migrants are more favorably endowed with attributes that promote occupational mobility. Hence, the next logical question is: Are migrants more likely to be occupationally mobile once selectivity and other factors have been taken into account? The answer to this question is provided in Table 5, where both gross and net means are presented for occupational mobility, percentage change in occupational status, upward mobility, and 1970 occupational status by race and migration status. The net means are derived from regression results (see Table A-1) in which the influence of socioeconomic attainment and labor force experiences have been controlled.

Columns (1) and (2) of Table 5 contain gross and net proportions indicating the probability of occupational mobility (either up or down) between 1965 and 1970. Mobility is defined in terms of whether an individual moved from one of fifteen major nonfarm occupational groupings to another (see Table 1 for description). A comparison of columns (1) and (2) indicates that most of the differences in occupational mobility observed in Table 3 can be attributed to the favorable background of recent migrants. Note, however, that lifetime migrants and nonmigrants are still less likely to be occupationally mobile. Similar results are obtained in the case of percentage change in occupational status (as measured by the Duncan Socio-Economic Index), as indicated in columns (3)

and (4). Recent migrants are only slightly more likely to experience greater occupational mobility than lifetime and nonmigrants. Contrary to expectations, new migrants received greater gains in occupational status than repeat and return migrants. New migrants are younger, many probably just beginning their occupational careers. The jobs held by these individuals in 1965 were probably temporary, reflecting a period of experimentation and training.

Another way to approach this issue is to ascertain whether migration is selective with respect to the direction of occupational mobility. Does migration promote only occupational success? Or is it the case that migrants are as likely to be downwardly as upwardly mobile? The results reported in Table 5 provide conflicting answers to the question. Columns (5) and (6) give gross and net estimates respectively of the probability of being upwardly mobile (versus being downwardly mobile). Repeat, new, and lifetime migrants among blacks, and new migrants among whites, are slightly more likely to be upwardly than downwardly mobile, controlling for socioeconomic background and labor force attributes. I can offer no reasonable explanation for this race difference, but apparently most black migrants are more likely to be motivated by occupational gains than whites. In contrast to other types of migrants, return migrants are slightly less likely to be upwardly mobile, which may perhaps indicate either that some of these individuals are willing to accept lower status jobs in order to take advantage of some other opportunities, or they encountered adjustment problems at destination.

The favorable gains experienced by recent migrants with respect to mobility did not result in their having significantly higher occupational status in 1970 than lifetime and nonmigrants. This is indicated by the

small degree of variation exhibited between the net mean 1970 occupational status levels reported in column (8). These results imply that there is little difference in the structure of occupational attainment for migrants and nonmigrants, except that the former are selected on certain attributes that promote higher occupational attainment.

The results reported in Table 5 focus on the overall differences between migrants and nonmigrants. One issue that is rarely raised, but which deserves some attention, is whether the underlying motivation for migration is associated with a desire to maximize the returns received for educational attainment with respect to occupational status. If migrants on the average are more achievement-oriented than nonmigrants, one would expect them to be very sensitive to geographic variations in opportunities for occupational advancement. In addition, among migrants, one would expect differences reflecting knowledge of opportunities and experience.

Table 6 reports expected occupational status returns to educational attainment by race, migration status, and level of education. These values were generated by weighting the regression coefficients for each race-specific subgroup by the overall means for each racial group. (The unstandardized regression coefficients associated with these values are reported in Table A-2.) This standardization procedure eliminates the influence of differences in level of educational attainment among the migration status categories. Essentially these values can be used to address the following question: Do individuals in different migration status subgroups receive different returns to educational attainment according to their 1970 occupational status and changes in occupational status?

In the case of whites, one can note very substantial differences

Table 5. Gross and Net Means of Various Aspects of Occupational Mobility by Race and Migration Status

Migration Status	Probability of Occupational Mobility		% Change in Occupational Status, 1965-70(SEI)		Probability of Upward Mobility		1970 Occupational Status(SEI)	
	Gross (1)	Net (2)	Gross (3)	Net (4)	Gross (5)	Net (6)	Gross (7)	Net (8)
Blacks								
Recent Migrants								
Repeat	.624	.375	35.95	26.18	.563	.624	35.47	29.25
New	.587	.356	42.92	29.95	.555	.575	29.54	27.96
Return	.574	.350	31.78	23.64	.469	.511	29.62	26.40
Lifetime Migrants	.288	.313	19.50	21.96	.545	.588	27.00	27.28
Nonmigrants	.291	.304	22.07	21.10	.563	.537	26.79	26.82
Whites								
Recent Migrants								
Repeat	.411	.327	21.51	22.32	.597	.574	56.81	45.77
New	.501	.349	34.98	26.90	.651	.614	49.55	46.24
Return	.483	.339	25.75	20.15	.572	.567	50.47	44.70
Lifetime Migrants	.288	.302	16.69	19.53	.425	.582	47.61	45.06
Nonmigrants	.299	.292	19.60	18.99	.625	.576	43.70	44.96

Source: Table A-1.

Table 6. Expected Returns to Educational Attainment by Race, Migration Status, and Level of Education[a]

Migration Status by Race	% Change in Occupational Status (SEI)			1970 Occupational Status (SEI)		
	Graded Schooling	College	Total	Graded Schooling	College	Total
Whites						
Recent Migrants						
Repeat	95.119	7.552	102.671	22.186	2.115	24.301
New	86.668	12.689	99.357	18.432	3.201	21.633
Return	129.648	13.603	143.251	26.604	3.132	29.736
Lifetime Migrants	34.812	7.085	41.897	8.489	1.812	10.301
Nonmigrants	48.106	9.820	57.926	10.337	2.113	12.450
Blacks						
Recent Migrants						
Repeat	-61.650	3.055	-58.595	-7.295	.822	-6.473
New	21.994	9.477	31.471	3.039	2.232	5.271
Return	-25.811	1.290	-24.521	-1.636	1.745	0.109
Lifetime Migrants	15.422	4.037	20.459	2.810	0.882	3.698
Nonmigrants	6.770	4.903	11.673	1.827	0.983	2.810

a-These values were obtained by weighting unstandardized regression coefficients (see Table A-2) for each race-migration status subgroup by the race-specific means for the educational attainment variables.

between the migration status subgroups in returns to educational attainment. As expected, returns to educational attainment with respect to occupational status for recent migrants are almost twice as large as those received by lifetime migrants and nonmigrants. One can also note that return migrants received the greatest returns, a finding which is contrary to expectations. Thus, while the overall impact of migration on occupational status tends to be slightly in favor of repeat and new migrants, return migrants appear much more sensitive to expected return from educational attainment. In the case of blacks, only new migrants received greater returns for educational attainment than lifetime migrants and nonmigrants. In fact, the expected values for graded schooling for repeat and return migrants clearly indicate a substantial loss in occupational standings, which implies that, among blacks, the underlying motivation for migration reflects considerations other than maximizing returns to education.

Migration, Occupational Attainment, and Earnings

Significant increase in the earnings of individuals who migrate is often used as an indicator of the role played by migration in facilitating socioeconomic attainment. Several studies of males have noted that migrants have higher earnings at destination than origin (Lansing and Mueller, 1967; Kiker and Traynham, 1977), indicating that migration is an important vehicle through which individuals improve their economic standings. A neglected aspect of the relationship between migration and changes in earnings is the impact of migration on occupational mobility. Some individuals are able to increase their earnings through increases in occupational status, while others do so by capitalizing on opportunities

which permit the realization of greater returns to human capital attributes.

The 1970 PUS file does not permit construction of comparisons of economic standings among individuals at two points in time. To determine whether there are positive income returns to migration, I must rely upon post hoc comparisons between migrants and nonmigrants to judge whether migration benefited individuals--in other words, whether earnings of migrants are greater than if they had not migrated. An important component of this approach is whether migrants receive greater returns for occupational attainment and changes in occupational attainment than nonmigrants at origin.

Table 7 reports gross and net earnings (for full and parttime work) by race and migration status. Net earnings are derived from a regression model in which the influence of other factors has been taken into account (see Table A-3.) As one would expect, the annual earnings of migrants overall are slightly higher than those of nonmigrants for both racial groups. In regard to particular categories of migrants, however, the earnings of return migrants among blacks, and new and return migrants among whites, are approximately the same as those of nonmigrants, while repeat and lifetime migrants have higher annual earnings. The higher than average earnings of lifetime migrants were an unexpected finding, but can be explained partly by results reported by Hogan and Pazul (1981). These authors point out that southern-born blacks living outside the South place greater emphasis on securing higher-paying jobs than nonmigrants, whereas nonmigrants tend to be attracted to occupations with high prestige (but perhaps low pay), in which it is possible to exercise greater initiative and control in performing tasks. In addition, the higher earnings

Table 7. Gross and Net Estimates of 1969 Earnings by Race and Migration Status

Migration Status	Blacks		Whites	
	Gross	Net	Gross	Net
Recent Migrants				
New	$5,510	$6,269	$9,669	$10,273
Repeat	6,295	6,770	12,294	11,098
Return	5,398	5,627	10,264	10,198
Lifetime Migrants	6,741	6,791	11,310	10,760
Nonmigrants	5,845	5,765	10,059	10,244

Source: Table A-3.
a-Includes only persons with positive earnings.

attainment of lifetime migrants could be due in part to the fact that their greater knowledge of opportunities within local labor markets, resulting from greater length of residence as compared to other migrants, places them in a more advantageous position with respect to identifying the better-paying jobs.

As indicated earlier, one of the suspected motivations underlying migration is an attempt to maximize earnings returns to occupational attainment. I have shown that recent migrants received substantially greater occupational status returns to educational attainment. Below, I seek to determine whether the same holds for earnings returns to occupational status. Table 8 presents expected earnings returns to occupational attainment by race and migration status. (The unstandardized regression coefficients associated with these values are reported in Table A-4.)

The expected values reported in Table 8 make clear that black recent migrants do not receive greater earnings returns to occupational status than lifetime migrants or nonmigrants. In fact, for recent black migrants, annual earnings appear not to be responsive to occupational standings, as indicated by the fact that the regression coefficients for the latter are not statistically significant (see Table A-4). When the expected earnings returns for 1965 occupational status and changes in occupational status are combined, lifetime migrants received the largest earnings returns to occupational status, followed by nonmigrants. In the case of whites, the results are quite different. The expected earnings of migrants are higher overall than that of nonmigrants. In addition, one can note that the expected earnings of return and lifetime migrants are about the same, but significantly higher than those of new and repeat

Table 8. Expected Earnings Returns to Occupational Status by Race and Migration Status

Migration Status	Blacks		Whites	
	1965 Occupational Status	% Change in Occupational Status	1965 Occupational Status	% Change in Occupational Status
Recent Migrants				
New	$577	- 2.42	$2,280	54.68
Repeat	483	-24.81	2,781	47.41
Return	488	37.22	2,944	94.41
Lifetime Migrants	1,069	38.54	2,950	64.34
Nonmigrants	874	46.68	2,275	52.63

Source: Table A-4.

migrants. Previous knowledge about the location of the most economically rewarding jobs in a local labor market may be the principal factor which enables lifetime and return migrants to obtain greater returns for occupational standing. It can be hypothesized that greater knowledge of local labor markets, permitting identification of the most economically rewarding jobs, would give return and lifetime migrants advantages over new and repeat migrants, because of previous residence (return migrants) or length of current residence (lifetime migrants).

REGIONAL DIFFERENTIALS

In the previous section, the focus was on comparing migrants with nonmigrants who were born in the same region, in an attempt to determine whether the former benefited from leaving their place of birth. In this section, the focus shifts to an analysis of the role played by region of origin and destination in influencing socioeconomic attainment. The geographic reference for measuring migration is a South/non-South dichotomy.[2] South/non-South differences in industrialization and urbanization have been identified as possible sources of differences in the socioeconomic attainment of their respective populations (see Hogan and Featherman, 1977; Featherman and Hauser, 1978). Since World War II the disparities between these regions have narrowed significantly as a result of migration interchanges. Below, I seek to determine not only whether these broad regions have benefited differentially from the migration interchange, but whether the migrants themselves were able to improve their socioeconomic standing over what it would have been had they remained in their original region.

During the sixties, the South benefited greatly from the migration

interchange with the non-South, as individuals who relocated had far superior socioeconomic backgrounds to natives. This is clearly indicated in Table 9 with respect to years of schooling completed and 1965 occupational status. The average educational and occupational attainment of migrants to the South were higher than native southerners, and higher than that of the nonreturn migrants who left the South. In the case of the non-South, the reverse is generally true; that is, this region received southern-born migrants whose level of socioeconomic attainment was lower than that of natives and that of the migrants who replaced them in the South. Return migrants are the exception in both instances, as their levels of socioeconomic attainment are in general superior to nonmigrants at both origin and destination. These return migrants, given their superior backgrounds, do not appear to fit the characterization of returning to their native region because they were unable to adjust successfully in the region they left (see Lieberson, 1978).

What about current occupational status and earnings? Do migrants fare better than nonmigrants at both origin and destination, once socioeconomic background and selected labor force characteristics are controlled? Table 10 presents net estimates of change in occupational status and 1970 occupational status by race, migration status, and region of destination. These estimates were derived from a model in which relevant socioeconomic and labor force characteristics were controlled (see Table A-5). Nonreturn black migrants to the South did experience greater change in occupational status than southern natives, as did those who left the South. Among whites, neither migrants to nor those from the South experienced greater change in occupational status. Recent black migrants to the non-South experienced greater change in occupational

Table 9. Selected Characteristics of Migrants and Nonmigrants by Race, Migration Status, and Region of Destination

Race and Migration Status	Years of Schooling Completed		1965 Occupational Status (SEI)	
	South	Non-South	South	Non-South
Blacks				
Recent Migrants				
New	12.26	10.67	35.67	23.59
Return	10.67	11.14	28.96	32.98
Lifetime Migrants	11.33	10.29	32.30	24.92
Nonmigrants	9.77	11.34	23.34	29.07
Whites				
Recent Migrants				
New	13.20	12.20	46.82	42.47
Return	12.23	13.93	41.85	53.25
Lifetime Migrants	13.30	11.31	52.45	37.62
Nonmigrants	11.70	12.4	42.38	42.72

Table 10. Net Estimates of Average Percentage Change in Occupational Status and 1970 Occupational Status by Race, Migration Status, and Region of Destination

Race and Migration Status	Change in Occupational Status		1970 Occupational Status (SEI)	
	South	Non-South	South	Non-South
Blacks				
Recent Migrants				
New	78.60	28.82	30.58	27.15
Return	17.07	49.02	26.21	28.37
Lifetime Migrants	21.48	21.14	27.37	27.10
Nonmigrants	19.70	24.15	26.45	27.74
Whites				
Recent Migrants				
New	22.65	17.65	46.12	44.20
Return	11.00	23.37	43.55	45.25
Lifetime Migrants	21.09	15.95	45.36	44.39
Nonmigrants	23.75	18.53	45.70	44.86

Source: Table A-5.

status than non-South natives. In the case of whites in the non-South, only return migrants to this region experienced greater change in occupation, while nonreturn migrants from this region experienced greater change than did the natives they left behind.

Differences among migrants and between migrants and nonmigrants are minor in the case of 1970 occupational status, with the exception of new black migrants to the South and return migrants to the non-South. The important thing to note here is that differences between migrants and nonmigrants with respect to change in occupational status did not result in a widening of the gap in 1970 occupational status between these groups of individuals. In most cases in which migrants experienced greater change in occupational status, it appears that the greater increase merely resulted in their obtaining parity with the nonmigrants in both the sending and receiving regions.

Net estimates of earnings attainment of migrants and nonmigrants by race and region of destination are presented in Table 11. The earnings of nonreturn migrants who reside in the South and those of migrants who left the South between 1965 and 1970 are higher than those of native southerners. In the non-South, the earnings of nonmovers are, in most cases, similar to those of both in- and outmigrants. An obvious factor to be considered in comparing the relative standing of migrants in the South versus the non-South is the fact that the socioeconomic attainment level of the population and the wage structure in the non-South, are generally higher. These differences may have implications for career mobility, as remaining clearly has a depressing effect on wages. Another possibility is that the more ambitious of the southern natives leave because of a perception that the opportunities for advancement are greater elsewhere.

Table 11. Net Estimates of 1969 Earnings by Race, Migration Status, and Region of Destination

Race and Migration Status	Earnings in 1969	
	South	Non-South
Blacks		
Recent Migrants		
New	$7,338	$6,128
Return	5,511	6,814
Lifetime Migrants	6,083	6,673
Nonmigrants	5,438	6,582
Whites		
Recent Migrants		
New	10,441	10,549
Return	9,550	11,062
Lifetime Migrants	10,738	10,623
Nonmigrants	9,659	10,500

Source: Table A-5.

On the other hand, migrants to the South may be more successful economically because they may not be inhibited by the traditions that stifle initiative and aggressiveness.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The association between occupational mobility and migration is the principal focus of this paper. We have observed that recent migrants tend to be more occupationally mobile than nonmigrant and lifetime migrants, due principally to selectivity factors. New migrants, rather than repeat and return migrants, experienced the greatest increase in occupational status, reflecting differences in age and initial occupational status. Moreover, within the context of changes in labor force status generally, the association between migration and shifts across occupational strata is less strong than the association between migration and shifts involving the entrance and exit of individuals from the labor force.

Migration is associated with both increases and decreases in occupational status, although for some migration types one tends to predominate (see Table 5). New migrants tend to be more upwardly mobile. This is also true of repeat and lifetime migrants among blacks. Return migrants are slightly less likely to be upwardly mobile as compared to nonmigrants and other types of migrants. Although these differences are too minor to warrant an extended discussion, they do imply that some migrants may have returned to their place of origin because of adjustment difficulties.

The net gains in occupational status experienced by recent migrants over the 1965-1970 period did not result in their having higher occupational status in 1970. In fact, once the influence of favorable

background is taken into account, the occupational status of migrants is not significantly greater than nonmigrants. These results imply that there is little difference in the structure of occupational attainment for migrants and nonmigrants. It can be concluded, based on the results reported for occupational status, that if differences in motivation for achievement and knowledge exist between migrants and nonmigrants, these are captured by background factors. In addition, I suspect that occupational mobility resulting from job transfers to other locations is also heavily influenced by socioeconomic background, as this type of move is dominated by highly educated managers, professionals, and nonretail salesmen (see Miller, 1977; Long and Hansen, 1979).

Recent migrants, at least among whites, appear to benefit substantially in regard to occupational status returns to educational attainment. The unit change in 1970 occupational status and 1965-1970 changes in occupational status per unit change in educational attainment is in most instances twice as great for recent migrants as for lifetime migrants and nonmigrants. Repeat and return migrants benefit the most with respect to returns to education, which is consistent with the notion that individuals do capitalize on the knowledge gained from previous migration experiences. In the case of blacks, the opposite is true; that is, the least experienced migrants receive the greatest returns. The structure of occupational attainment among blacks is becoming similar to that of whites, particularly in terms of their ability to convert their educational resources into higher returns. This trend would be most evident among young black recent entrants into the labor force. If this observation is valid, then one would expect that new black migrants would be in a better position to benefit from this trend than nonmigrants and

other types of migrants.

Higher occupational attainment in general and greater returns to educational resources are not the only benefits that can accrue to migrants. Increased earning capacity either directly or through increased occupational attainment must also be considered an important motivation for migrating. The results reported here are consistent with this observation, as migrants in general do have higher earnings than nonmigrants net of favorable socioeconomic background and labor force experience. On the other hand, it is clear that certain types of migrants benefit more than others in this regard, notably repeat and lifetime migrants. One possible explanation for these differences could be that different types of migrants seek to maximize different socioeconomic attributes in changing location. New migrants, because they are in the early stages of their careers, may place greater emphasis on occupational attainment; while lifetime and repeat migrants may emphasize increased earning capacity as the major consideration in migrating. These differences, viewed from a career life-cycle perspective, are not necessarily incompatible. The relatively lower annual earnings of return migrants are consistent with DaVanzo's (1976, p. 15) observation that these individuals tend to emphasize nonpecuniary over pecuniary benefits in migrating.

The migration interchanges between regions do affect the socioeconomic composition of the populations of both the sending and receiving regions. During the 1960s the socioeconomic attainment of the South's population increased as a result of the influx of migrants with higher socioeconomic status than those who left for the non-South. Moreover, regional differences in the socioeconomic attainment of migrants

versus nonmigrants do not favor the latter uniformly. For example, the occupational status of migrants was not significantly different at either origin or destination from that of nonmigrants, when considering the fact that certain types of migrants experienced greater changes in their occupational status between 1965 and 1970. In the case of earnings, nonreturn migrants to the South earned more in 1969 than did southern natives, but this is not true in the non-South. It would be of interest to know whether this contrast held for all of the major census divisions that make up the non-South region.

Footnotes

1. Region is not identified in the PUS file for county groups. Hence it was necessary to infer an individual's region of residence or birth (based on the nine major census regions) by first assigning a state and region of residence or birth based on SMSA of residence. In the case of individuals living in the fifteen SMSAs that cross state boundaries, another procedure was employed. If an individual lived in an SMSA that crossed regional boundaries and in which it was not possible to separate the SMSA into its state components, a migrant was defined as a person whose state of birth or 1965 region of residence was defined as different from that of the state which contains the principal central city of the SMSA of current residence. For example, individuals who lived in Kentucky in 1965 and lived in the Ohio portion of the Cincinnati SMSA in 1970 are not considered migrants, since that change is assumed to be a move within the same labor market area.

2. Collapsing the nine major census regions down to two eliminates the repeat migration category, as an individual must be identified as living in three different geographic divisions at three points in time.

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Table A-1. The Regression of Occupational Status Attributes onto Selected Socioeconomic and Labor Force Characteristics, by Race

Characteristics	Whites[a]				Blacks			
	Proportion Occupationally Mobile	% Change in Occupational Status(SEI)	Proportion Upwardly Mobile	1970 Occup. Status(SEI)	Proportion Occupationally Mobile	% Change in Occupational Status	Proportion Upwardly Mobile	1970 Occup. Status(SEI)
Recent Migrants								
New	.0561	7.9106	.0377	1.2805	.0523	8.8421*	.0386*	1.1448*
Repeat	.0346	3.3367*	.0018*	.8184	.0713	5.1809*	.0871*	2.2308
Return	.0465	1.1609*	-.0091*	-.2525*	.0463*	2.5365	-.0257*	-.4188
Lifetime Migrants	.0101	.5485*	-.0062*	.0255*	.0094*	.8554*	.0513	.4618
1965 Occupational Status	-.0016	-1.7009	-.0125	.6836	-.0005	-1.7922	-.0144	.6727
Vocational Training	-.0038*	4.4369	.0290	1.0387	.0310	5.2899	.0375	.9928
Limited Disability	.0188	1.0104*	-.0057*	.3481	-.0002*	-1.6491*	.0226*	.0064*
Married	-.0103	-2.3363	-.0238	.5502	.0063*	-1.7483*	.0022*	-.4441
Work Experience	-.0041	-.5307	.0014	-.0588	-.0036	-.6032	.0008*	-.0894
Graded Schooling	.0056	4.2181	.0264	.9289	-.0015*	1.0822	.0015*	.2237
Years in College	-.0017	7.7350	.0503	1.7455	.0032*	10.1601	.0655	2.2070
Industry								
Distributive Services	-.0229	3.0585	.0458	.3674	-.0007*	5.5534	.0778	.7318
Goods Services	-.0062*	21.1622	.2289	4.7755	-.0203*	15.9121	.3229	4.2151
Social Services	-.0265	11.0913	.1487	2.1948	-.0453	19.9713	.2745	3.7235
Personal Services	-.0350	-16.8682	.0237	-3.5602	-.0635	-10.7788	.1671	-1.3551
Changed Industry	.5469	22.3865	-.1014	.8129	.6016	26.3859	-.1492	.9122
Employment Status								
Private Sector	-.0866	-5.2288	-.0340	-.4615	-.0579	-19.8253	-.1431	-3.0122
Public Sector	-.0939	-6.2894	-.1190	-1.0672	-.0576	-21.8335	-.2086	-3.3863
Weeks Worked	-.0007	.2132	.0024	.0832	-.0002*	.0367*	.0006*	.0141*
Hours Worked	.0005	.0800	.0010	.0131	-.0000	.0999	.0015	.0220
Region of Birth								
East	-.0127	-3.2806	.0081*	-.4397	-.1605*	4.4853	.0686	1.0957
North	-.0050*	-2.4080	-.0052*	-.2471	.0015	4.4967	.0808	1.2102
West	.0093	.3698*	.0046	-.5094	-.1151*	5.7070*	.1140	1.5775
Intercept	-.6447	30.4125	.5119	-.3132	-.7008	64.5582	.8152	8.2943
R^2 (corrected)	.3247	.1703	.2339	.6931	.3954	.1295	.2382	.6472
Total Observations	138,440	138,440	41,101	138,440	14,483	14,483	14,483	4,379

*Indicates that the regression coefficient is not twice the size of its standard error.

a-The number of lifetime migrants and nonmigrants have been inflated by a factor of four to reflect their actual representation on the PUS file.

Table A-2. The Effect of Graded Schooling and Years in College on Percentage Change in Occupational Status and 1970 Occupational Status by Race and Migration Status: Unstandardized Regression Coefficients[a]

Race and Migration Status	Percentage Change in Occupational Status, 1965-70		1970 Occupational Status	
	Graded Schooling	Years in College	Graded Schooling	Years in College
Blacks				
Recent Migrants				
New	2.209	21.297*	0.305	5.016*
Repeat	-6.191	6.865	- .733	1.848
Return	-2.592	2.898	-0.164	3.922*
Lifetime Migrants	1.649*	9.071*	0.282*	1.996*
Nonmigrants	0.680	11.019*	0.184*	2.209*
Whites				
Recent Migrants				
New	7.815*	10.663*	1.662*	2.689*
Repeat	8.577*	6.347*	2.001	1.777*
Return	11.691*	11.431*	2.399*	2.632*
Lifetime Migrants	3.129*	5.954*	0.766*	1.523*
Nonmigrants	4.388*	8.253*	0.932*	1.776*

*Indicates that the regression coefficient is twice the size of its standard error.

a-Obtained from a regression equation which included 1965 occupation, industry, change in industry, class of worker, whether married, vocational training and limited disability, work experience, weeks and hours worked, and region of birth.

Table A-3. The Regression of 1969 Earnings onto Selected Socioeconomic and Labor Force Characteristics[a]

Characteristics	Blacks	Whites[b]
Recent Migrants		
New	503.47	29.81*
Repeat	1004.85	854.42
Return	-138.54*	-45.98*
Lifetime Migrants	1025.59	516.88
1965 Occupational Status	36.99	57.51
% Change in Occupational Status	2.00	2.90
Vocational Training	219.22	-66.73
Limited Disability	-618.77	-1052.31
Married	-491.14	-966.62
Work Experience	31.39	82.69
Graded Schooling	128.44	270.23
Years in College	615.68	870.20
Industry		
Distributive Services	-606.34	827.65
Goods Services	-627.61	132.55
Social Services	-512.60	-692.56
Personal Services	-1229.19	-1767.72
Changed Industry	-541.77	-1243.36
Employment Status		
Private Sector	-1107.34	-3016.85
Public Sector	- 941.20	-4015.87
Weeks Worked	59.66	109.69
Hours Worked	110.31	135.04
Region of Birth		
East	866.72	581.21
North	1022.56	736.67
West	447.85	581.77
Intercept	-2962.85	-5677.88
R^2 (corrected)	.401	.365
Total Observations	14,083	136,978

*Indicates that the regression coefficient is not twice the size of its standard error.

a-Individuals with no earnings in 1969 are omitted.

b-The number of lifetime migrants and nonmigrants has been inflated by a factor of four to reflect their actual representation in the PUS file.

Table A-4. The Effect of 1965 Occupational Status and Percentage Change in Occupational Status on 1969 Earnings: Unstandardized Regression Coefficients [a]

Migration Status	Blacks		Whites	
	1965 Occupational Status(SEI)	% Change in Occupational Status(SEI)	1965 Occupational Status(SEI)	% Change in Occupational Status(SEI)
Recent Migrants				
New	22.479*	-0.114*	53.143	2.832
Repeat	18.818*	-1.145*	64.802	2.445*
Return	19.009*	1.717*	68.620	4.889
Lifetime Migrants	41.660	1.778	68.739	3.332
Nonmigrants	34.054	2.153	53.007	2.725

*Indicates that the regression coefficient is not twice the size of its standard error.

a-Obtained from a regression equation which included years of schooling completed, industry, change in industry, class of worker, whether married, received vocational training, limited disability, work experience, weeks and hours worked, and region of birth.

Table A-5. Regression of Percentage Change in Occupational Status, 1970 Occupational Status, and 1969 Earnings onto Selected Socioeconomic and Labor Force Characteristics

Characteristics	Blacks			Whites[a]		
	% Change in Occupational Status (SEI)	1970 Occupational Status (SEI)	1969 Earnings[b]	% Change in Occupational Status (SEI)	1970 Occupational Status (SEI)	1969 Earnings[b]
Migration Status at Destination						
Destination						
South						
Recent Migrant						
New	58.901	4.131	1900.013	- 1.104[c]	.419[c]	781.796
Return	- 2.628[c]	- .241[c]	73.304[c]	-12.746	-2.153	-108.894[c]
Lifetime Migrant	1.788[c]	.919[c]	645.587[c]	- 2.659	- .341[c]	1078.658
Non-South						
Recent Migrant						
New	9.125[c]	.698[c]	698.825	- 6.103	- 1.499	889.825
Return	29.320[c]	1.917[c]	1376.685	- .380[c]	- .452[c]	1403.105
Lifetime Migrant	1.436[c]	.652	1235.309	- 7.797	- 1.312	963.561
NonMigrant	4.446	1.292	1144.121	- 5.224	- .839	840.880
1965 Occupational Status	- 1.793	.673	36.769	- 1.705	.683	58.086
% Change in Occupational Status	--	--	1.964	--	--	2.962

(table continues)

Table A-5. (continued)

Characteristics	Blacks			Whites[a]		
	% Change in Occupational Status (SEI)	1970 Occupational Status (SEI)	1969 Earnings[b]	% Change in Occupational Status (SEI)	1970 Occupational Status (SEI)	1969 Earnings[b]
Vocational Training	5.238	.992	215.098	4.517	1.046	-57.526*
Limited Disability	-1.584*	.018*	-599.182	1.036*	.346	-1046.906
Married	-1.674*	-.443	-500.125	-2.434	-.563	-971.877
Work Experience	-.606	-.092	31.107	-.539	-.059	87.470
Graded Schooling	1.079	.217	122.530	4.227	.926	275.564
Years in College	10.137	2.223	634.650	7.814	1.754	881.050
Industry						
Distributive Services	5.593	.750	-594.682	3.016	.340	-820.266
Goods Services	16.032	4.215	-628.649	21.022	4.747	130.142
Social Services	20.001	3.752	-479.664	11.055	2.190	-691.569
Personal Services	-10.766	-1.332	-1211.470	-16.785	-3.575	-1748.025
Changed Industry	26.419	.962	-525.541	22.718	.859	-1236.219
Employment Status						
Private Sector	-19.827	-3.018	-1117.922	-5.015	-.417	-3006.697
Public Sector	-21.803	-3.405	-950.340	-6.338	-1.087	-4007.262
Weeks Worked	.041*	.014*	59.826	.206	.083	109.415
Hours Worked	.099	.022	110.682	.075	.012	135.126
Intercept	64.241	8.326	-3009.503	33.729	.233	-5908.842
R^2 (corrected)	.131	.647	.404	.171	.693	.365
Total Observations	14,483	14,483	14,083	138,440	138.440	136,978

* indicates that the regression coefficient is not twice the size of its standard error.

a-The number of lifetime migrants and nonmigrants have been inflated by a factor of four to reflect their actual representation in the PUS file.

b-Individuals with no earnings in 1969 are omitted.